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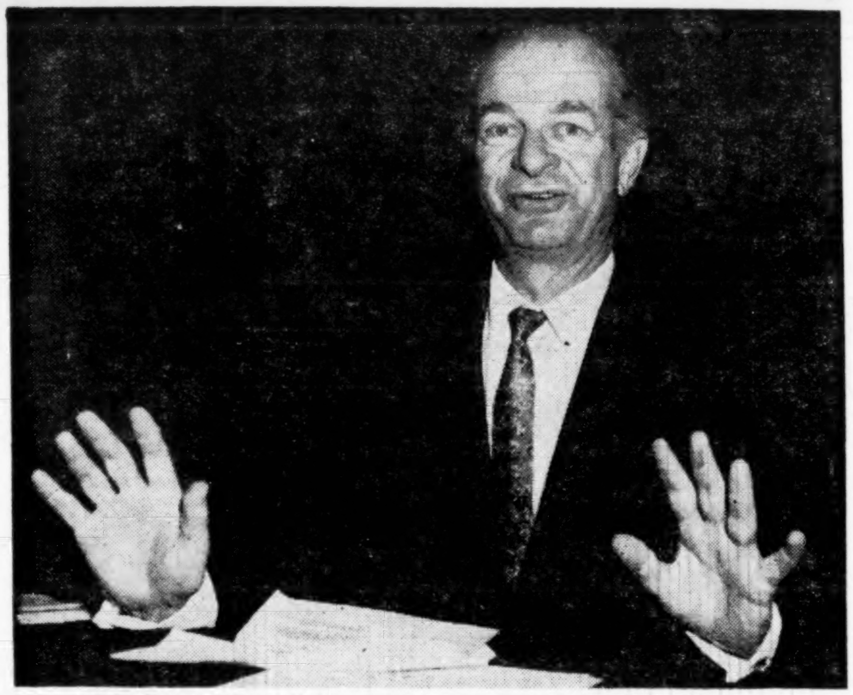
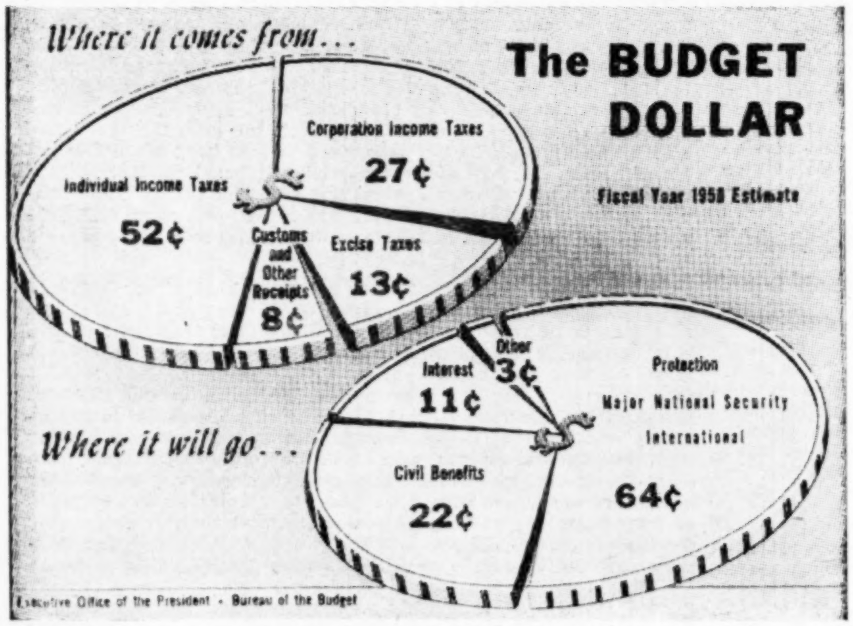


THE HIGH COST OF DYING—AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT
Nobel Prize Laureate Linus Pauling seems to be holding up his hands in horror at President Eisenhower's military budget—and in effect that's what he and 9,000 other scientists did. For their story, see p. 8. For the budget story see below.



Executive Office of the President • Bureau of the Budget

WHAT THE NEW BUDGET MEANS

Arms spending hits record high for a hotter cold war

By Victor Perlo

IN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S new budget, total spending is projected at a record peacetime level of $74 billion, and actual spending will exceed the peak reached during the Korean war. Military spending for the coming 1959 fiscal year is set at $47.6 billion, up $5.1 billion from 1956 and $2.4 billion from 1957. The emphasis is on missile-nuclear warfare. Missile spending jumps from $1.7 billion in 1956 and $3 billion in 1957 to $5.3 billion in 1959. A.E.C. spending goes from $1.7 and $1.9 to $2.6 billion in the same years. New obligational authority for military spending, up $8.8 billion over 1956 and $3.9 billion over 1957, gives the Pentagon funds for a more rapid rise than the official estimates.

With military spending up, the budget proposes drastic reductions in domestic programs (see Page 4).

These features are worthy of note:

- The military rise makes hypocrisy of the Eisenhower-Dulles call for "deeds not words" by the Soviet Union. It closely followed a modest **reduction** in the Soviet military budget to 96 billion rubles, which amounts to $24 billion, or 52% of the comparable U.S. projected figure at the official conversion rate.
- A deficit of several billion dollars is in prospect. The document forecasts a rise of $3.4 billion in receipts over 1957, in order to show a paper balance. But this is fantasy. Chief Economic Adviser Saulnier reportedly persuaded the White House at the last minute to add $2.5 billion to the revenue estimate, to avert a "tremendous blow to public confidence in the economic outlook" by admitting

(Continued on Page 4)

AN APPEAL TO THE NATION'S CONSCIENCE

4 Americans to defy bomb tests by sailing into the danger zone

By Elmer Bendiner

FOUR AMERICANS ARE PLANNING to sail a tiny craft into the forbidden areas of the Pacific where the U.S. is to hold its spring series of nuclear explosions. There, in the path of destruction by blast or radiation, they hope "by their presence and, if necessary, by their suffering to speak to the reason and conscience of their fellow Americans."

The expedition is in the hands of a group known as "Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons." A parenthesis after the organization's title reads: "(A First Step to Disarmament)". In announcing the action last week the group said it planned "a parallel project to carry the same moral and political message to the people and authorities of Russia," though no details could yet be released.

The U.S. weapons tests are scheduled for April near Eniwetok and it is expected that some 50,000 square miles of the Pacific will be designated as "dangerous." Last week a 30-foot ketch called the "Golden Rule" was being outfitted in San Pedro. It can accommodate no more than four. To make the crossing, it will have 500 square feet of sail and a small 24 hp. auxiliary motor. It is due to leave San Pedro about Feb. 10, touch at Hawaii and the Marshall Islands and reach the danger zone by April 1.

TWO FRIENDS: Two of the crew have already been chosen and organization officials are interviewing others from a long list of volunteers. Probable commander of the crew is Albert Smith Bigelow, 51, who served as a lt. commander in the Navy during the last war and commanded three combat vessels. Last year he was among those arrested for demonstrating against the bomb tests at Yucca Flats on Hiroshima Day, Aug. 6.

Bigelow is a member of the Religious Society of Friends, director of the Unitarian Service Committee and a leader of the American Friends Service Committee. He is a painter and architect of Cos Cob, Conn. He has two children and four grandchildren.

The other crewman already enlisted is William R. Huntington, 50, also an architect. He has been a leader of the American Friends Service Committee and was a conscientious objector in World War II.

DOWN-TO-EARTH CREED: Last year a Japanese "Peace Navy" was to have undertaken a similar mission but it was scuttled by Japanese government opposition before it could sail. At that time 64-year-old British pacifist Harold Steele traveled half-way around the world to join the demonstration and complained: "Governments always seem to fob us off."

No Americans were involved in that expedition but U.S. pacifists have demonstrated regularly at recent bomb tests in this country and some have set up vigils in Washington. The voyage of the "Golden Rule" is the most dramatic, ambitious peace action proposed by Americans since Korea.

Though the group draws on pacifists of varying affiliations and faiths there is a common religious motive. Theirs is

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THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW AT WORK

Conspiracy trial seeks new way to jail unionists

By John T. McManus

IN A UNIQUE Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" trial which began Jan. 6 in Cleveland, the Dept. of Justice seems to be seeking a legal shortcut for wholesale jailing of left-wingers with union-leadership backgrounds, and a formula for a new Communist roundup now that the Smith Act has apparently been rendered ineffective for this purpose.

Two of the eight indicted, husband and wife Fred and Marie Haug, were separately charged with filing false non-communist T-H affidavits as union leaders. The others—a former union leader, Eric Reinthaler, and five members of the Communist Party—were accused of conspiring with the Haugs and presumably with others to cause false affidavits to be filed. The indictment also charged that "it was also a part of said conspiracy to make and cause to be made false 'resignations' from the Communist Party USA and notwithstanding such pretended 'resignations' to remain as members of the Communist Party USA."

Accused as co-conspirators in the Cleveland case but not included as defendants are eight Communist leaders, all of whom have been tried under the Smith Act. They include Gus Hall, who served a Smith Act sentence; Steve Nelson, key figure in the recent Supreme Court decisions against the Smith Act, and others now or formerly in national or Ohio state CP leadership.

Awaiting trial in Denver, depending on the outcome of the Cleveland case, are 14 present or former leaders of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union similarly accused of conspiracy with CP leaders to file false T-H affidavits.

THE THREAT: If the government wins a conviction in the Cleveland case and can make it stick in the higher courts, it will have obtained a new means of

(Continued on Page 10)

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REPORT TO READERS

Pep and pepper

A STATISTIC we have just unearthed runs our hopes sky-high for the success of the new circulation drive we have asked our readers to undertake for the GUARDIAN. Our Buying Service (GBS) reports that the sinews of GUARDIAN readers have been steeled for the task by some 305,900 GUARDIAN Vitamin pellets, including Canditabs but not counting Pediatric Drops, as of the close of the year's business on New Year's Eve, 1957. We now look for the resulting fresh vigor to show results in that multiple sub blank on p. 3.

Getting you to take your circulation-building iron, thiamin and inositol has not been without its problems, but even they have had their brighter side. Like the customer who sent back a container of 100 Geriatrics (in their unbreakable polyethylene container marked "Salt" for future use when empty) and asked for one marked "Pepper." She already HAD a salt. Or the chap who sent us an unidentified capsule along with orders to match it and send along a good supply.

GBS REPORTS ALSO that there are some 1,900 of our Weavers' records spinning around in GUARDIAN outer space, more than all our other LP record offerings added together; that some 47 doz. kids are learning facts of their universe from our $1 books like **What Makes Me Tick** and **Thank You, Mr. Sun**; and that at the very least we've got a few dozen new chess players learning from that pictorial masterwork on the subject, I. A. Horowitz's **Picture Guide to Beginner's Chess.** Also that 39 doz. handsome feminine heads are sporting GUARDIAN Xmas scarves, and 34 doz. of our peasant dolls from Poland have crept into at least that many hearts during the Holiday season. We could have wished for business to be better, but honestly we don't know how we'd have handled any more than we did, during the Holiday season at least. Now the rush is over, so if there's anything you need, step right up (N.Y.C. readers include 3% sales tax.)

●

HOW FARE WE? A monthly publication called **The Independent** leads off its January column on the press with an item stating that things are "not faring well at NATIONAL GUARDIAN." It says our circulation is way down and that renewals are not coming in well.

On the matter of how we are faring we borrow a comment from an esteemed contemporary in the deep South, editor P. D. East of the weekly **Petal Paper** in Mississippi. Editor East says: "It comes awfully close to being the whole truth that a free press is a broke press."

Broke we are, as always, but faring very well—as faring goes in our part of the forest. Renewals are coming in steadily, and at an increased price at that; pledgers and contributors are sending undiminished help (we always need more, and say so at every opportunity, like this one); for GBS 1957 was our best year yet; and already we are getting a healthy response on the circulation effort we asked for last week.

Reports of our failing health (**The Independent** seems almost to be hoping it fails altogether) are entirely without truth. The GUARDIAN will live, thank you, and increase because it seeks to bring together, not to rend apart, the elements making up the good, forward-going nucleus of Americans who are our country's progressives. And because information—not misinformation—is our stock in trade.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG

Friends of Mel Hupman

CLARKSVILLE, OHIO

Thanks so much for printing my December letter re the imprisonment of my husband. It sure brought results and I only wish you could read some of the wonderful messages from GUARDIAN readers. In all he received 187 messages, with "comfort" contributions totaling $73. A farmer in Iowa invited him to come live with his family if he couldn't get a job when he was released. An elderly retired couple in Florida invited us to spend a month next winter with them. One card from Mexico, two from England. It was just wonderful.

I was with him four days during Xmas week and we spent hours reading through the cards. The guard at Mill Point who was in charge of censoring the mail was very confused—and finally said: "What the hell goes here, Hupman; just why are you here?"

The poor guy just couldn't understand why a fellow in prison for five years (notorious criminal in his book) would be getting messages, from union people especially, saying "you're doing a rap for us," etc., etc.

The response of the GUARDIAN readers was very gratifying.

Pearl Hupman

Wrong priority

PROVO, UTAH

Sputnik provided the impetus for a new chapter in an already devastatingly tragic novel. The money power now had a new weapon to wield. A new propaganda barrage came forth to stir up more hatred and corporate profit.

Another development is the President's approval of aid, in the form of scholarships, to promising young physical scientists.

Actually, physical science in our country already far exceeds understanding in other fields. For full realization one only need look at the precarious situation of our country today. Social science and economics, I feel, should be given priority over physical science.

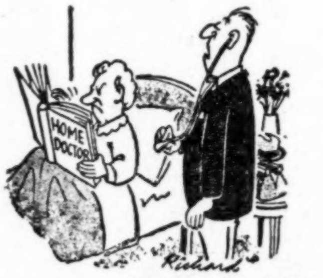
One of the glaring examples of our social backwardness is the pressing racial problem. The present recession and bleak economic outlook is evidence that more effective knowledge of economics is needed. If the government has $1,500,000,000 to divert to education (finally), some could better be ear-marked for biological rather than physical science. The haphazard program against heart disease and cancer is an embarrassment to a great nation.

Physical science is only one component of knowledge. Without the social understanding of how to use physical science it can be our master (and a very cruel one) rather than a servant. The continued blind misuse of nuclear energy could prove to be civilization's destruction.

Paul L. Anderson

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

None of the clippings submitted this week were suitable for our "crazy" award. We ask GUARDIAN readers to scan their local papers for "crazy" candidates. Surely our nation has not suddenly turned sane! Winner each week gets a one-year subscription free.



London Daily Express

"Come now, Mrs. Flugle, I must have your complete confidence."

Heredity's importance

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I dispute A. R.'s statement that Israeli scientists are contaminated by Nazi "race science" because they are studying the blood types and fingerprints of Yemenite and German Jews.

Racism is no more the logical outcome of human genetics than is atomic diplomacy of nuclear physics. The drawing of racist conclusions can only be made by mixing up biological and social categories. The finding that there are fingerprint differences between German Jews and non-Jews does not make the former any less German. I agree with A. R. that biological differences between human groups are irrelevant as far as cultural values and national characteristics are concerned.

In that case, why study genetic differences between human groups?

1. Hereditary differences can be a useful tool in historical research, tracing migrations of peoples and indicating the degree of social isolation between groups of inhabitants of the same country.

2. The study of human evolution requires a knowledge of rates of change of hereditary characters among humans, since we cannot uncritically apply the results from flies or mice to man. Although heredity is unimportant culturally physical adaptations to the environment are of evolutionary and medical importance—disease resistance and capacity to function at high altitudes shown by Andean Indians are two examples.

3. The proper assessment of the hereditary dangers to be expected from increased radiation requires a knowledge of what becomes of hereditary disease factors in a population. The Jews are especially useful in such a study because the different populations had a common origin and were separated for a known period of time. After fingerprints and blood groups we will be able to study diabetes and hemophilia.

Progressives have nothing to fear from the accumulation of scientific kowledge of any kind. In the long run, all knowledge will help man cope better with his environment, when governments actually have that objective. And in the short range, reactionary conclusions from scientific data can best be altered by better science, not by denying science.

Richard Levins

Space problem

ALPINE, N.Y.

For two weeks, I had been trying to learn just what it was that Bulganin said in his note to the President which "merely rehashed everything he had said before" and which was rejected before it was translated. The papers we get in here, one from Ithaca and two from Syracuse, said all that and denounced all the dupes from Western Europe who saw anything else in it—but not one of them gave any idea of the contents. I got it in the GUARDIAN.

George Cook

Wambles

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

We can stop Dulles' ambles
To the brink of a shambles
And all a bright future embrace,
By consigning his wambles to a
 wasteland of brambles,
If we will this cold menace efface.

Mike Essin

Hallinan on FDR

SANTA FE, N.M.

I received the Jan. 6 GUARDIAN in the mail today and read the article by Vincent Hallinan first of all. It is, in my opinion, one of the best articles that you have printed during the time I have subscribed to the GUARDIAN—and I received my first issue in October, 1948.

Although I have always been a great admirer of Franklin Roosevelt I have been aware of certain of his faults and liked the way Mr. Hallinan presented them. He writes in a concise style that is brief, straight, and true to the end. This is the type of style for the GUARDIAN while it is only 12 pages. Please urge Mr. Hallinan to contribute more such articles.

My wish for '58 is that your subscription list will grow to the figures of 100,000, at least!

Tom Sanders

Ban A- & H-crackers

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Our law makers have put a ban on fireworks being used by the young folks on our Day of Independence, July 4th, when as a boy we celebrated with giant crackers, some a foot long and what a bang they made—and what fun we had. Now our leaders are trying to make war by being tough on Russia and spending 70 to 75 per cent of the nation's wealth to make weapons to kill others with—and in doing this, they are placing every American on the spot where not one will remain alive if war comes.

If small boys are not able enough to use firecrackers because they know not what damage may come from such use, what about these leaders? They surely are, at their age — less able to handle A- and H-bombs than small boys are with firecrackers.

Clint W. Lovely

Pipe dream?

RICHLAND, N.Y.

Things that never happen but ought to:

Congress notifies the Administration that not one red cent will be raised till a practicable, workable peace treaty, a permanent ban on all nuclear weapons, and a progressive disarmament arrangement has been made with Russia—with working operations on both sides. People might then feel that at last Congress had got round to doing something in favor of the voters who put them there.

Paul Hamilton

DULLES WORRIES ABOUT LOSING WITHOUT ANY SHOOTING

Soviet 'economic offensive' upsets Washington

By Kumar Goshal

Unless we take [the Soviet economic offensive] seriously, we can lose this struggle without ever a shot being fired. —Secy. of State Dulles

WASHINGTON LAST WEEK seemed seriously worried by the present scope and future potentialities of Soviet economic aid to undeveloped countries. On Jan. 15 it released a resume of a State Dept. study on "the Soviet bloc's economic offensive in underdeveloped areas."

The study admittedly is not exhaustive. Soviet economic and technical aid to China is not mentioned. It touches only on the highlights of socialist aid to underdeveloped countries from 1955 through 1957.

THE FINDINGS: These were the main facts in the report:

- In the last two-and-a-half years the socialist countries have extended some $1,900,000,000 in long-term credit or grant aid to Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Syria, Yemen and Yugoslavia. Three-quarters of this aid was exclusively for non-military purposes. This far exceeds U.S. aid to these countries during this period.
- Of the total non-military aid, the Soviet Union is providing over two-thirds, the rest being supplied by Czechoslovakia, China, E. Germany and other socialist countries.
- Interest is 2-2½% (in contrast to the U.S. charge of 3-6%), with repayments on major credits scheduled over 12 years or more, made at least partially in commodities or local currencies at current world rates.
- About half the aid has been covered by contracts for specific projects, deliveries have been prompt and workmanship has been found satisfactory by the recipients.
- Prices charged by socialist countries for their goods and services have successfully competed with those charged by capitalist countries.
- About 2,000 socialist technicians have gone abroad to render advisory or supervisory services and returned home promptly after their work was done; they "appear to have been regarded as competent and their behavior so far has given rise to few complaints."
- An equal number of technicians, professionals and students from recipient countries have gone to the socialist countries for special training or for observation of planning, technique and production; 500 more have enrolled in universities for special courses; many have gone through UN agencies.
- The socialist countries have expanded trade as well as aid with the underdeveloped countries; between 1954 and 1956, trade rose by 70%.
- The socialist countries have also sent scientists to Yugoslavia and Egypt for nuclear energy projects and are sending 15 professors to the technological institute being erected in India; "there are already indications that Soviet assistance in the scientific field will expand."

SINISTER SOCIALIST SCHEME: TRADE AND AID
Czech Prime Minister Siroky and India's Nehru in New Delhi

INCREASE SEEN: The State Dept. found the Soviet Union and other socialist states "vigorously" pursuing increased trade and aid. Washington had no doubt the socialist countries would be able to meet the increasing demand on their goods and services: they could double their aid in eight years by drawing on "less than 5% of the projected increase in their output over this period."

Washington also had little doubt that underdeveloped countries are finding aid from and trade with socialist countries highly attractive. The socialist group extends aid on the basis of requests made, does not dictate how it should be spent. Unlike the U.S. and other Western countries, the Soviet Union encourages industrialization and does not preach the virtues of increasing exportable raw material production with Western technical aid and obtaining finished goods from the highly industrialized countries.

The projects supplied by or aided by the socialists include a million-ton steel plant, agricultural and coal-mining machinery, a thermal power station, sugar mills, textile factories, equipment and books for scientific laboratories, grain elevators, hydro-electric stations, cement plants, roads and airports.

The steps planned by Washington to counter "the Soviet economic offensive" indicated no change in U.S. policy of exclusively military aid to unpopular but "friendly" governments in the underdeveloped areas of the world.

AID WITH STRINGS: President Eisenhower has asked Congress to increase the foreign aid appropriation from $2,740,000,000 to $3,900,000,000. But $1,800,000,000 of this sum has been earmarked for outright military aid and $2,100,000,000 for economic and "defense support" outlays. And, if the Rockefeller report is a guide, further foreign aid appropriations would go to shore up U.S. military alliances and protect U.S. investments abroad.

The report noted "the reluctance" of many U.S. allies "to make a substantial military effort" because of "the growing cost . . . of modern weapons"; "the decreasing popular support for military programs" and the possibility of "internal revolution" in these allied countries. It concluded that "the U.S. will have to provide—either directly or indirectly—substantial quantities of equipment needed by our allies, or else see their political stability decline along with their military strength."

The sole exception so far to this policy was last week's offer of a $225,000,000 loan to India, for which New Delhi has been exerting the utmost pressure on Washington. The N.Y. **Times** said the Administration took "this unusual step because India had become a 'particularly active scene' in the Soviet bloc's campaign of economic penetration."

U.S. UNCHANGED: Secy. Dulles' next schedule of trips abroad indicated that aid to India marked no change in Washington's policy. Dulles is scheduled to attend the Baghdad Pact conference in Ankara at the end of this month, the SEATO conference in Bangkok in March and the NATO meeting in Paris in April—all of them in areas where U.S. policy is in trouble.

While in the Middle East, he plans to visit Iran, where a recent Soviet offer of economic aid has produced a high mark in Moscow-Teheran relations. Playing the Soviet offer against Washington, the unpopular Shah of Iran has demanded from the U.S. "more money to finance a bigger and better army" (**Newsweek**, 1/20).

Evidence points to the fact that while the State Dept.'s data and figures on Soviet and other socialist countries' aid to underdeveloped lands were accurate enough, Washington's interpretation and conclusions were wide of the mark. The U.S. has failed to heed Soviet CP First Secy. Khrushchev's warning that Moscow has declared "war" in the fields of trade and aid: "The threat to the U.S. is not the ICBM, but in the fields of peaceful production."

How unpopular can you get in Okinawa?

GO HOME!
DONKEY, MONKEY
& YANKEE!

THE OKINAWANS' OPPOSITION to U.S. use of their island as an "atom-hydrogen bomb base"—feeling of Tokyo students is demonstrated above—and their desire to be free of U.S. military rule were conclusively demonstrated in the Jan. 12 mayoralty election in the capital city of Naha. The election was called after U.S. authorities had arbitrarily changed the Naha assembly's quorum laws to force the ouster of the previous mayor, Kamejiro Senaga, alleged by Americans to be a Communist. Senaga-backed candidate Saichi Kaneshi won the election by a slim margin. But victory for his rival would not have helped the U.S. either, since both candidates ran on a "Go Home, Americans" platform. Washington was reported "chagrined and apprehensive [because] strenuous and ill-concealed government maneuvering to get a more sympathetic mayor into power had obviously backfired." (N.Y. **Times**, 1/14).

Non-Citizens, Note

THE Walter-McCarran Law requires that all non-citizens in the U.S. report their addresses to the Attorney-General during the month of January each year. This provision of the law should be brought to the attention of all non-citizens. A special printed form for making the annual report can be obtained at any post office or office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

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DEMOCRATS JOIN CRY FOR MISSILE SPENDING

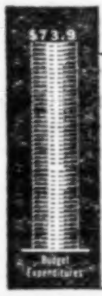
Ike's budget junks welfare for arms

TO PROVIDE THE MONEY for the most staggering military outlay of any peacetime year in history, President Eisenhower in his budget message proposed to strip down to the bare bones all the welfare benefits which Americans have won in the last 20 years. By 1960, if the President's budget stands, almost all of the New Deal will have been liquidated.

In a year when Americans worried about a deepening recession, a crisis in the schools and on the farm and a mounting population of dependent old people, the President proposed a gigantic raid on the funds set aside for health, education, welfare, the aged, the farmer. As unemployment mounted he suggested an end to public works. The full brunt of the cuts would not be felt by the people this year or next, but in 1960 they would find that Washington was in the arms business and little else. Here is a run-down of where the butter goes to make the guns:

SCHOOLS: Federal assistance to be confined to schools for children whose parents work and live on Federal property. Proposed sum: $130,500,000, a cut of $95,000,000. Thrown out altogether is the program for aiding schools in districts where Federal activity has greatly boosted enrollment. Up to now Washington has contributed funds to such schools, which accommodate 7,600,000 pupils, almost 25% of the nation's total.

Science scholarships are to get a boost but all measures to increase the nation's critically inadequate school plants are to be deferred indefinitely. A proposed $420,000,000 school construction program has been dropped altogether; also items for a $3,000,000 Children's Bureau to combat juvenile delinquency and a $1,600,000 program to train teachers of mentally retarded children or those with hearing or speech defects.



Where $73.9 Billion will go

Major National Security	$45.8
Interest	7.9
Veterans	5.0
Agriculture	4.6
Labor and Welfare	3.7
Commerce and Housing	1.6
Natural Resources	1.5
General Government	1.4
International	1.3
Allowance for Legislation and Contingencies	1.1

Fiscal Year 1959 Estimate

OLD PEOPLE in need, dependent children, the blind and the totally disabled may have their pensions reduced if, as reported, Washington cuts back its contribution to match those of each state on a 50-50 basis. Until now the Federal government has been paying more than 70% of such funds in ten states and more than half in 34 states. Pensions are also to be cut for those veterans suffering from disabilities not incurred in service.

HOSPITALS: By 1960 Washington will pay only for the most urgent, specialized needs.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION: Interest rates to be boosted and future financing to come from private instead of Federal sources.

WATER PROJECTS for land reclamation, power or flood control are to be cut drastically with no new starts made on any project and a ceiling of $650,000,000 for civil projects by the Army Engineers. Rep. Overton Brooks (D-La.) said it would mean "the liquidation of the nation's water development program."

FARMERS: A cut in benefits estimated at $300,000,000. Until now price supports have ranged from 75% to 90% of parity (a ratio of production costs to farm income deemed fair to the farmer). Under an automatic escalator clause supports have gone up as supplies decrease, down as they increase. The President recommended dropping the floor on prce supports to 60% and tossing out the escalator. The Secy. of Agriculture would be given "Czarist" powers to fix supports at his own discretion. The "Czar," Secy. Ezra Taft Benson, had tough going before the Senate Agriculture Committee last week when farm-state Democrats challenged his honesty and forced him to deny that he aimed to plow under the small farmer.

HOUSING: A boost in interest rates and other measures designed to reduce mortgage purchases for housing programs.

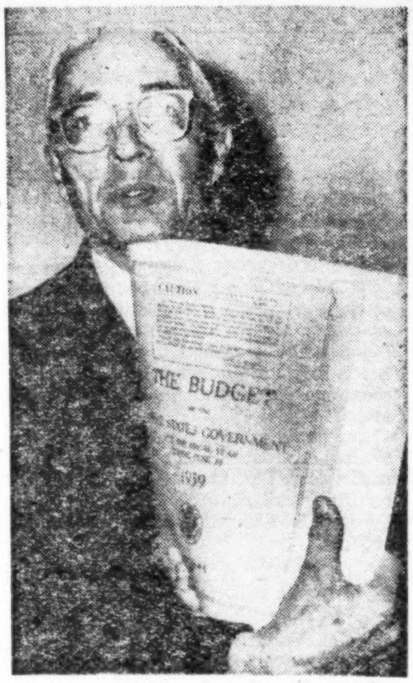
PUBLIC WORKS: No new starts on anything.

POST OFFICE workers may get a raise along with military personnel but only if postal rates go up: first-class letters out of town to cost 5c; airmail, 7c. A proposed $65,000,000 disability insurance program for all Federal workers was cut out of the budget altogether.

ADDITIONAL CUTS: Other casualties of the budget include a proposed $5,000,000 item for construction of sanitary facilities on Indian installations; special grants for studies, Federal participation in programs for vocational education and the construction of plants for treatment of waste.

The proposed budget would turn the last two items completely over to the states by 1960. To ease the blow telephone taxes would be returned to the states. That scheme seemed to have a built-in inequity since states with fewer telephones would get less than others.

The President offered his budget with a plea that people "be prepared to rise above personal selfishness, sectional interests and political partisanship." To politicians it seemed a devastating theme for a campaign year. Republican Congressmen and Senators preparing to run again were horrified and threatened to fight for some of the New Deal measures as political necessities. Sen. William F. Knowland (R-Calif.) said feebly that he had warned the President that some of his colleagues might complain. He, himself, was threatened in his impending race for governor. The budget message seemed to doom California's $225,000,000 San Luis Dam project and Knowland would have to explain why at every whistle-stop in his state.



BULGING WITH GUNS
Percival Flack Brundage, director of the budget, holds a copy of the largest peacetime budget in nation's history.

BAD GOP YEAR: A Republican Congressman told the Washington **Post:** "I can't think of a worse year for a Western Republican to run for Congress. It was bad enough two years ago." In 1956 the Republicans lost heavily in the West and Far West. Another Republican moaned: "We expected this budget to hurt a little but we didn't expect to get our heads chopped off."

The Democrats cheerfully predicted that the President's budget would give them six new Senate seats, at least. Meanwhile, they whooped for still more millions for the military.

The budget

(Continued from Page 1)

that incomes and taxes would not rapidly snap back to boom levels.

- The projected upswing in arms spending does not guarantee an economic revival. Arms spending was growing just as rapidly in fiscal 1957, but business activity barely held its own. Now other factors are less favorable.
- The budget is bad for the public because of cuts in welfare spending, the requested rise in postal rates, the danger of accelerated cost-of-living boosts associated with higher arms spending, especially of the deficit variety, and above all the war menace implicit in this budget and the corresponding foreign policy.

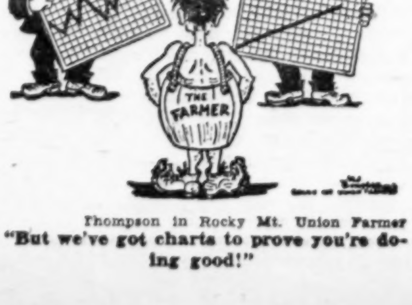
RUNAWAY SPENDING: The change from the previous budget is more in political line than in statistical content. The 1958 budget also projected a sharp rise in military spending, but did it quietly with no public scare campaign. The new budget message reflects the attitude of the Rockefeller Report, **Fortune**, and all the big business-militarist advocates. It bristles with references to the "Soviet threat," with warnings of further rises in military outlays combined with sharper cuts in civilian programs later. (Incidentally, those who watched the Nelson Rockefeller TV interview Jan. 12 may have observed how Eisenhower followed his arguments in his post-budget press conference).

On Dec. 16 this writer warned in the GUARDIAN that the actual plan in reactionary circles was to increase military spending ultimately by $10 billion a year. The Rockefeller Report showed that I underestimated—it calls for an ultimate rise of at least $18 billion yearly. In fiscal 1957 and so far in fiscal 1958 military spending ran billions above levels called for in the budget. The new political tone threatens more runaway spending to come.

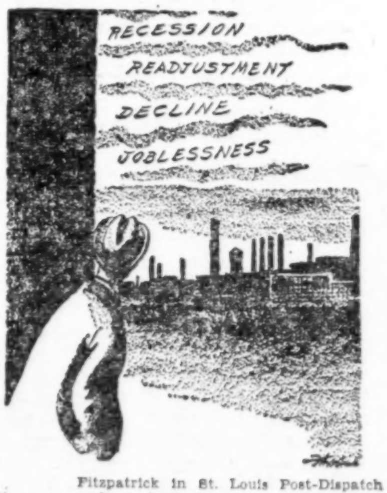
NOTHING SETTLED: But the budget does not actually settle anything. It merely sets the stage for political combat. Last year the widespread demand for economy and tax reduction led to Defense Secy. Wilson's orders which temporarily checked the rise in military spending, and caused a sharp decline in contracts let. His efforts have been completely undone. The current schedule calls for military hardgoods contracts of $13 billion in the first half of 1958, up from $10 billion in the first half and $7 billion in the second half of 1957.

There are indications that the budget was already completed in its thousands of segments before President Eisenhower was won over by the Dulles-Rockefeller group, and there wasn't time to go back and revise everything.

So the Washington **Post** was technically accurate when it complained that the budget does not go up as rapidly as the supposed "crisis" would suggest. The **Post** need not worry. The figures are not to be taken literally, but as a base from which the military spenders may take off.



Thompson in Rocky Mt. Union Farmer
"But we've got charts to prove you're doing good!"



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Strange noises just around the corner.

ONE HOPE: With arms manufacturers, oil magnates, Democratic politicians, ADA-ers, and many labor leaders demanding even more arms spending than the budget proposes, the economy forces are in a poor position to stop the Pentagon from engaging in a really wild spending spree. The military can add to the regular appropriations "emergency" demands for supplemental funds, and about $10 billion of unobligated balances from earlier authorizations.

At the same time, there is considerable pressure against the cuts in the civilian budget, from local interests wanting "pork-barrel" projects, farm organizations resisting Eisenhower's proposals, and the labor movement demanding more, not less civilian benefit spending. Press comment suggests that, in a Congressional election year, these efforts will not be wholly unsuccessful. But so long as the labor movement tries to marry welfare to warfare, as at present, it cannot prevent some chipping away at civilian programs, and cannot hope to get federal aid in meeting the rising needs of labor in a period of snowballing unemployment.

Important big business circles oppose reckless arms spending. The people, unlike Dulles, do not get bad dreams from Sputnik's beep-beep. A rising chorus of prominent persons call for a foreign policy of negotiations instead of armed terror. This trend, if multiplied many times, offers the only hope for sane future budgets.

Willyoupleaserepeatthat, sir?

Q.—Mr. President, Secretary Dulles has been coming under increasing criticism as you know, both here and abroad, and it has been reported that he recently submitted his resignation to you and that you rejected it. I wonder if you could confirm this report . . .

A.—The last person that I would want to see resign is Mr. Dulles. I don't mind saying this: I think he is the wisest, most dedicated man that I know.

I believe he has got greater knowledge in his field than any other man that I know, and in spite of the fact that many criticisms of him that have been voiced in the newspapers, and so on—I cheerfully admit that—the fact is that, I assume, that I know as many of the leading figures of the world as does the average governmental official, and their personal, intimate evaluations of Mr. Dulles as to furnish—as given to me, by no means indicate any desire except that he stays right squarely on the job, and that is where he belongs. —*White House press conference, Jan. 15.*

THE CALIFORNIA WATER WAR—II

The lineup is big industry vs. big farm vs. little farmer

By Reuben W. Borough
Second of two articles

LOS ANGELES

THE BIG QUESTION in California's newest water war is whether the surplus in the North shall be diverted to Southern industry or to Central Valley agriculture. A democratic society would, of course, reject the anarchic hyper-industrialization of Southern California proposed by business and financial leaders.

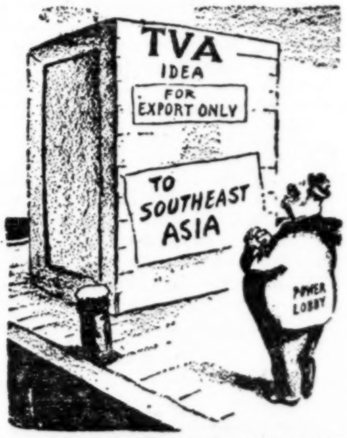
It might quickly conclude: "No exportation of water over the Tehachapis—keep it where it is, to serve Central Valley's agriculture."

But this alternative does not necessarily follow. Whether it is logical to keep the water at home depends upon the kind of agriculture the water is to serve there. Is it an agriculture that will produce citizens or serfs?

THE DRAWBACK: The historic California farm background, it must be admitted, is alien and un-American. It is a violent repudiation of Jefferson and Lincoln and their concepts of the people's homesteads. It is rooted in the preposterously vast land grants of a thieving Spanish Crown.

"Unfortunately for our future prosperity," the farm journal, **California Fruit Grower,** complained as early as 1889, "individual holdings are too large. The fact that our lands, cultivated and uncultivated, planted and unplanted, are owned by a few individuals in exceedingly large tracts, is today, and will be in the future, one of our greatest drawbacks."

As to farm ownership in the Central Valley, a 1944 Dept. of Agriculture report found that "extreme concentration of irrigable lands is evident." It disclosed that in 1940 92% of the land-owners in agriculturally important Madera, Tulare and Kern counties owned only 41% of the land while 8% owned 59%.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"Ah, that's the place for it."

THE CHOICE: That the ownership trend is toward increased, rather than diminished, concentration is established in a recent Haynes Foundation study which showed that in California as a whole (in which Central Valley is the decisive agricultural factor) the number of "intermediate-size" farms (between 10 and 1,000 acres) has decreased, the 10-acre (urban and suburban, mostly) and the 1,000-acre holdings have increased in number, and the "new land" brought under cultivation is almost exclusively in the bracket of 1,000 or more acres.

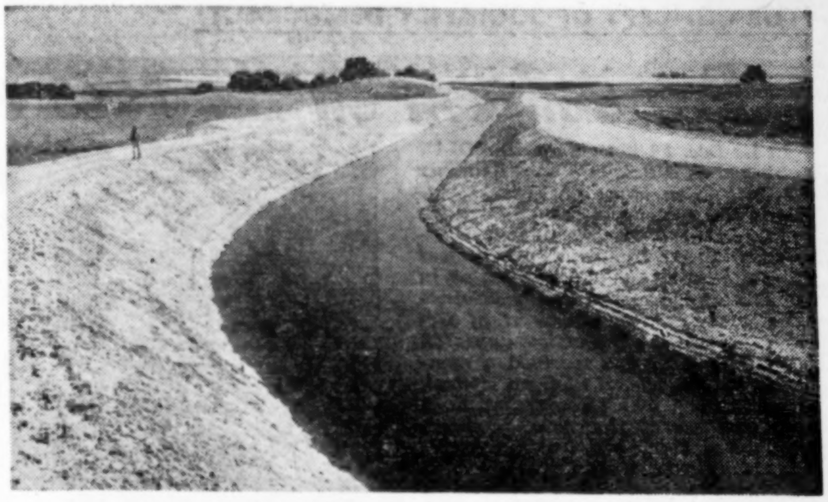
On top of this, some of the most powerful farm organizations approve the dominance of the big farm, whether individually or corporately owned. Abrogation of the historic New Deal Reclamation Bureau policy of limiting water use to 160 acres per person (320 acres per married couple) has been demanded by the California Farm Bureau, the California Irrigation Districts' Assn., and the San Joaquin West Side Land Owners Assn., among others.

If vast-scale land ownership is to take over in the Central Valley, then there is little or no reason why the state's progressive forces should oppose exportation of water surpluses to Southern California. Bad as are the inequities and insecurities of rampant industrialization, the heartless medievalism of the "factories in the field" and their lines of migrant "stoop" and "squat" labor is worse.

THE EVIL: In the period of seasonal employment the exploited workers of the socially isolated racial-minority groups move about the state in their jalopies outnumbering the farmers and the family-farm workers two to one. Only one of three hired laborers has a year-around job. In the off-seasons, during which employers reject all social responsibility, these workers drift into valley towns to eke out a bare existence from a harsh county charity and an occasional job. The misery of this cheap labor force (plus public taxes) subsidizes the large-scale farm's operations.

It was the inhumanity of this entire set-up, including its unspeakable labor camps, that caused Simon J. Lubin, founder of California's Housing and Immigration Commission, in an address before San Francisco's Commonwealth Club in the early 1930's, to call for the breaking up of the large land holdings, individual and corporate, by the imposition of "extraordinary taxes" and the substitution of "true farming" for these monstrosities. He said: "Crops that demand for their cultivation a slave type of labor we can well get along without."

THE ALTERNATIVE: The state's progressive forces must resist both this type of agricultural exploitation and the Southern California program of ruthless industrialization. There is a sound alternative to both proposals: development of the immediately available Northern California water surpluses for agricultural consumption in the great Central Valley under the rigid enforcement of Reclamation law, with its 160-acre use limitation and with provision for compulsory sale of "excess acreage" at prices determined by public appraisal.



THE MADERA CANAL: PART OF THE CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT
An agriculture to produce citizens or serfs?

The wisdom of the Reclamation Bureau's encouragement of the family-size farm calls for all-out public support. The small farm's spread of wealth and relatively high level of social living are apparent. Dr. Walter R. Goldschmidt of the Dept. of Agriculture in a 1944 report covering investigations of specialists subjected two contrasting California communities to detailed inquiry: Arvin (population 6,500) in a huge-corporate-farm district in Kern County in the southern end of the Central Valley, and Dinuba (population 7,700) less than 100 miles north, in Tulare County.

The average size of the farm around Arvin was 497 acres; around Dinuba, 57 acres. But the gross farm income, 1940 prices, of the Arvin community was less than that of the Dinuba community: $2,460,000 against $2,540,000. Further, it is apparent that much of the Arvin income by-passed the community while most of Dinuba's was locally spent—for a 12-month period (1942-43) Dinuba's business volume (of 135 enterprises) was almost double Arvin's (of 62 enterprises). In Arvin four-fifths of the residents worked for wages, in Dinuba half of the residents. In every aspect of social and cultural life (in civic consciousness, pride and loyalty, in social integration, in number of churches, women's clubs, fraternal orders, sidewalks, street lighting, fire protection) the Goldschmidt study brings out the marked superiority of Dinuba, the hub of family-size farm production.

Nothing has occurred since 1944 to upset the Goldschmidt findings.

Most Americans would prefer to live in Dinuba rather than in Arvin.

FIGHT BREWING IN AUTO UNION

Reuther offers profit-sharing in place of short week

Special to the Guardian

DETROIT

LAST APRIL, the United Auto Workers convention voted unanimously to make a shorter work week with increased take-home pay its main demand in this year's contract negotiations. But the 3,000 delegates to a special UAW convention in Detroit Jan. 22-24 were sidetracked from the shorter work week by the last-minute proposal of President Walter P. Reuther and the Intl. executive board to replace the demand with a profit-sharing scheme.

"It's no secret," Reuther said at a press conference Jan. 13 announcing his switch, "that I've been beating the drums less and less for the short work week in recent months." But Reuther has never been enthusiastic over the shorter work week demand, which could be won only by a full-scale battle with the corporations.

LEISURE CAN WAIT: Reuther explains that his new proposal is based on the premise that labor and management "have a joint responsibility to the whole of our society . . . [which] transcends in importance our separate responsibilities. . . . Never before in history have the interests and the future of all groups within our free society—labor, management, consumers—been so inseparably woven together."

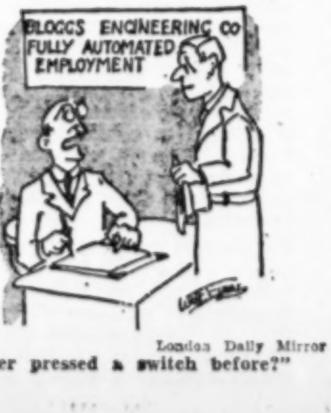
The sudden change, according to Reuther, is justified by two things:

- The Sputniks, which dramatize "the new dimensions of the challenge that freedom faces. . . . We need to strengthen our military posture" in order to defeat "the forces of communist tyranny."
- The recession, to which the union must answer that "mass purchasing power through higher wages" should be expanded, and that "greater leisure for the time being can wait."

ISSUE OBSCURED: Reuther doesn't show that the Sputniks are any more of a reason to abandon the fight for a shorter week than they are to give up the 40-hour week as proposed by Sen. Lyndon Johnson. Ford Local 600 points out in **Ford Facts:** "The 30-hour work week is not an obstacle to working four shifts a day under full employment should the need arise." A 30-hour week doesn't imply less production; what it means is that time-and-a-half would start after 30 hours rather than after 40.

"Greater leisure" is not the sole aim of a shorter work week. Actually it is the best and most practical means of fighting unemployment, and a method of raising weekly take-home pay and living standards. Local 600 argues that "the economic conditions which have developed since the April convention have made even more imperative the struggle for a shorter work week."

The basic issue has been somewhat obscured by the greater publicity given to Reuther's substitute proposal—a profit-sharing plan under which auto workers would divide up 25% of profits above the first 10% of profits on net capital before taxes.



London Daily Mirror
"Ever pressed a switch before?"

The corporations denounced the scheme as "radical," "extravagant," "un-American," and "inflationary," etc. But economists interviewed by the **Detroit Free Press** pointed to the "big incentive" feature of the plan: "The workers would figure, of course, that the more they produce, the better they produce, and the lower cost, the higher share the profits would be and the more money they would make."

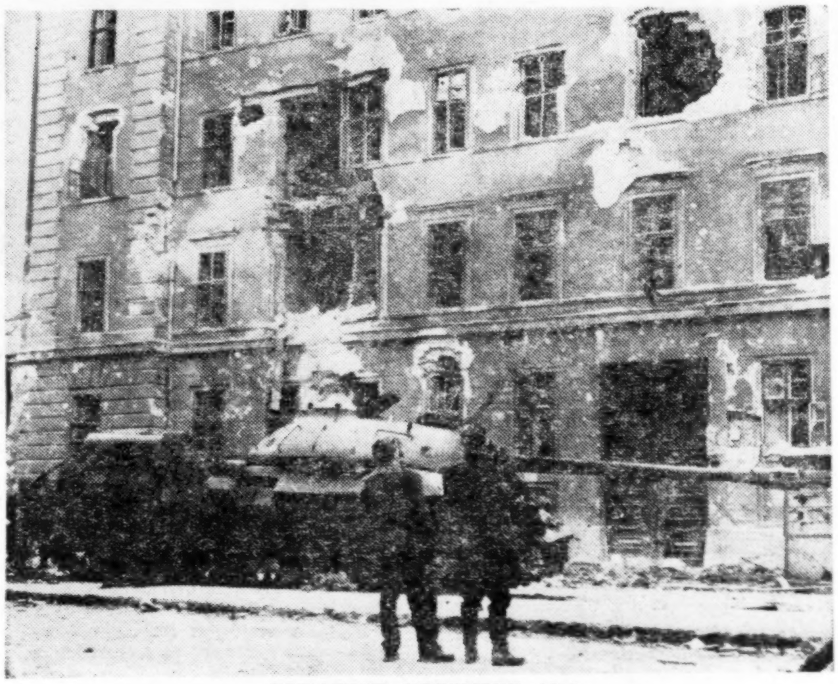
PUBLICITY DEVICE: The Detroit **Free Press** does not take the profit-sharing plan very seriously, calling it "chiefly a bargaining table device; something to trade for gains in the negotiating agenda's bread-and-butter department. It does serve, of course, as a tactic which keeps Mr. Reuther in high personal prominence while at the same time abandonment of the shorter work week plan is lost in the excitement."

Ford Local 600, the largest in the UAW, has pledged that it will fight at the convention "to retain the shorter work week as the Number One demand for the 1958 contract negotiations." It will be joined by other locals, especially those hardest hit by layoffs. If the opposition is large, some rough fighting can be expected. The last time the shorter work week was debated at a UAW convention—in 1953—the Reuther machine called it a communist plot and denounced its advocates as saboteurs of the Korean war effort. The outcome of this convention can have a crucial effect on the future of the labor movement.

'THE CONCEPT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY'

Pro and con on the case of Tibor Dery

*In its Dec. 30 issue the GUARDIAN published an article by Elmer Bendiner entitled: "The story of Tibor Dèry, Hungarian writer and rebel." Dèry has been sentenced to nine years' imprisonment by the Hungarian government after a closed trial. He was active in the protest movement among intellectuals preceding the upheaval of October, 1956. Since the article appeared the GUARDIAN has received a number of letters, several of them critical. The following, which comprehensively sums up the critical arguments, comes from the editorial board of the Amer*ican Hungarian Word, *a progressive Hungarian-language weekly published in New York.*



BUDAPEST, NOVEMBER, 1956
"A complicated, unforeseen and many-sided tragedy."

MR. BENDINER QUOTES from a speech by Tibor Déry made in June, 1956: "The fight today is concerned with the concept of socialist democracy. The fight is hard and all the harder because we ourselves have not yet completely clarified this concept. I trust that we will reach our goal in the best and, I believe, the only possible way: through the closest contact with the realities of life."

We wish to note that the speech was given just about the time Hungary was going through the changes so intensely desired by Mr. Déry.

It is important that Mr. Déry himself was unclear about what he really desired, judging from the above quote. It is also important that his novelette **Niki**, which Mr. Bendiner mentions, was written long before the 1956 events and that "the bureaucracy" and the "limitations of Hungarian democracy" did not stop **Niki** from becoming a best seller nor Déry from having an overflow meeting of 8,000 in the Officers' Club on June 27, 1956. Mr. Bendiner knows that a novel is not written overnight and Déry did not have to seek a secret way to publish his works. They were published in Hungary by a Hungarian publishing house. Mr. Déry has been criticized for this work, and for others, but he was not stopped from writing or publishing it.

MR. DÉRY WAS EXPELLED from the Hungarian Workers' Party in June, 1956, not for the reasons cited by Mr. Bendiner but for a breach of the discipline he assumed when he joined the party of his own choice. Previously he had been reprimanded but he was not curbed in his activities as a writer or as a citizen.

We do not wish to deny nor to apologize for the mistakes or injustices that occurred during the past period in Hungary, but it should be pointed out that Mr. Déry became known as a writer only since the establishment of the peoples' democratic government.

Mr. Bendiner wrote: "Through most of 1957 Hungary's most celebrated by-lines were missing from the press." It is clear that Mr. Bendiner does not know Hungarian and did not read the Hungarian press through 1957. If he had, he would know that the literary journals and the press generally throughout 1957 were filled with articles, discussions and debates concerning every feature of literature and that these were contributed by most of the great writers of Hungary.

Mr. Bendiner said "a number did sign a government-sponsored protest against the UN's resolution on Hungary" but that the prominent writers were missing from the list. First, the protest was not government-sponsored, a fact made clear in the statement; and second, the signatures of almost all the leading writers are appended to the statement. Some are missing, as is inevitable in such an undertaking, including the names of such as Révay, whom the West knows as an "apologist" for Rákosi, or A. Bebrits, who, although not so prominent, is known as an extreme "apologist" for Kadar. Also missing is the name of Dezső Nemes, whose study, **On the Hungarian Counter-revolution**, will be published soon in Hungary. Did they also declare that they were "ill" or "out of town"?

THE GUARDIAN would do a service to its readers if it published the text of the protest even at this late date. It would clarify what the authors "had" to sign.

To pass judgment on the Hungarian situation one has to take into account that today Hungary is a nation recovering from an attempted reactionary insurrection. It was an insurrection that cost Hungary 7,000 dead, 25,000 wounded, and the destruction of three years of capital investment, while tens of thousands of its citizens are roaming around in the "paradise" offered them by the outside world. These are the facts of life. If we add to the cost the danger that Hungary at best could have become another Korea, or perhaps the source of a third world war, then we cannot play around with words and it has nothing to do with the "tides".

Marton Lovas, one of the Hungarian writers who was defending his party's headquarters during the assault on Oct. 30, 1956, called Gyula Hay, a co-defendant of Mr. Déry. Mr. Lovas asked Hay if he could hear the shooting over the phone. Mr. Hay answered yes. Lovas, who later barely escaped from a lynch mob when the party headquarters was invaded by the insurrectionists, asked Mr. Hay: "Is this what you wanted? Is it to this you—the opposition writers—gave the ideological weapons?" Mr. Hay answered: "I don't approve of this armed attack. This is not what we wanted."

IS A WRITER LESS responsible to his duty as a citizen than anybody else? Is everybody subjected to the laws of the land except a writer? Can a writer, regardless how good he may be, divest himself of his legal responsibilities?

Mr. Bendiner failed to note what is the fact. Mr. Déry was not convicted for what he wrote and was not indicted for that. As the Hungarian press made perfectly plain, Déry was charged with and convicted for "leading an organization which aimed at overthrowing the state," and he continued after the state faced armed assault.

Mr. Bendiner does not mention the fact that many trials have been conducted publicly and the commercial press and, for that matter, Mr. Bendiner's own paper have not seen fit to publicize them. Why didn't Mr. Bendiner protest the secret trial of Vladimir Farkas or Peter Gabor, the former heads of the Hungarian security forces? They too have been sentenced for their deeds, deeds that they committed by abusing the duties of their office.

•

If I have erred in matters of fact I am glad to be corrected. It may be that the editors of the Hungarian Word *know more precisely than I do the number of prominent writers who did or did not write in the Hungarian press last year. My information came from many sources I thought reliable, but I do not read Hungarian. Some other points at issue seem to be a matter of language. The charge of "breach of discipline" against Dèry seems merely an official way of saying he was outspokenly critical of a leadership now almost universally condemned as tyrannical, stupid and vindictive.*

My main difference with my critics concerns the nature of the upheaval and, even more important, the question of when it is proper to dissent from the practices of a socialist government. As the GUARDIAN has made clear in previous articles, it does not share the view that the Hungarian upheaval was simply an "attempted reactionary insurrection." Neither does it characterize it simply as an uprising of "freedom fighters." My article of Dec. 30 termed it a "complicated, unforeseen and many-sided tragedy."

There is no question that reactionary forces saw their opportunity and attempted to make capital of it. It is just as true that Hungarian workers fought for their own and the nation's good against a government which seemed to yield too slowly to reforms in an atmosphere already tense from intolerable past abuses.

It is argued in the Hungarian Word's *letter that "responsible" persons should not protest against even the most evident injustices while the enemies of socialism threaten. I disagree: Under such thinking there may never be an appropriate time to protest such abuses. Such thinking weakens socialism by tolerating its malpractice. Under socialism, as under any system, liberties are won by fighting for them. Poland is today's best example; there are less publicized examples in the Soviet Union itself.*

I understand and share the deep concern of the editors of the Hungarian Word *and other critics for the need to protect socialism against its enemies. But I cannot agree that it is proper to rehabilitate dead dissenters—such as Rajk—while jailing live dissenters—such as Dèry.* —E.B.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH UPHELD

Supreme Court outlaws Dixie labor organizer ban

OPERATION DIXIE, the long-stalled, badly-sputtering Southern organizing drive of the AFL-CIO, got a welcome assist when the Supreme Court on Jan. 13 outlawed a Southern registration requirement for trade union organizers.

In a 7-2 decision written by Justice Charles Evans Whittaker, the Court ruled that a Baxley, Ga., statute was "invalid on its face." Under its provisions a person had to obtain a permit from the mayor and city council before soliciting members for "any organization, union or society." The city officials were instructed to weigh "the character of the applicant, the nature of the business of the organization . . . and its effects upon the general welfare of the city of Baxley" in considering applications. Use of the permit was also conditioned on payment of fees of $2,000 for each organizer and $500 for each member obtained.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL: Justice Whittaker's ruling stated: "An ordinance which, like this one, makes the peaceful enjoyment of freedoms which the Constitution guarantees contingent upon the uncontrolled will of an official . . . is an unconstitutional censorship or prior restraint upon the enjoyment of those freedoms."

The case arose when Rose Staub, an organizer for the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union, attempted to sign up members in Baxley without a permit. She was convicted in a state court and sentenced to a $300 fine or 30 days in jail. Justices Felix Frankfurter and Tom C. Clark voted against overturning the state court ruling on the ground that union lawyers had employed the wrong procedure in appealing.

David Dubinsky, ILGWU president, said the ruling foreshadowed "greater union efforts to raise wages and work standards in the South." He pointed out that laws similar to the Baxley ordinance have been used in many Southern communities to "keep unions out of their midst and wages at a low level."

ORGANIZERS FIRED: The average hourly wage in the South is $1.63; nationally it is $2.07. Union officials contend that this 44-cent differential is due largely to the fact that half the nation's 26 million unorganized workers are in the South.

How fast the AFL-CIO would move to take advantage of the decision remained in doubt. Two days after the high court ruling the N. Y. **Times** reported the merged labor movement had fired 100 members of its 225-man organizing staff. The action reflect "a shift in emphasis to public relations," for which the federation leaders are planning to spend $1,250,000 a year, said the **Times**.

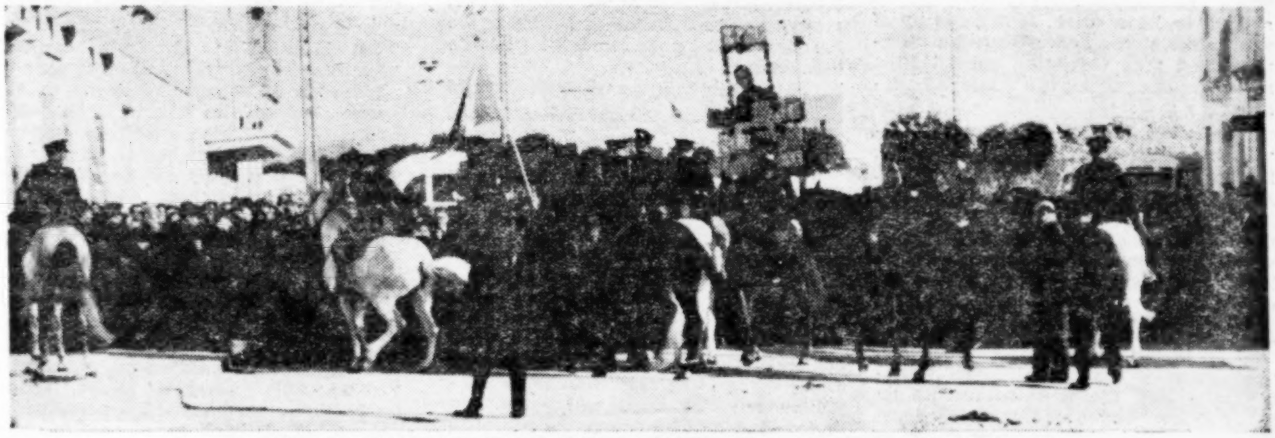
Of the 225 organizers on the national AFL-CIO staff, 80 had been assigned to the South. How many of the 80 were affected by the recent cut has not been revealed. But any reduction would increase the difficulties in organizing the unorganized in Dixie. The 80 were having a tough enough time as it was (GUARDIAN, 1/13).

AT THE SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE IN CAIRO

Afro-Asians resolve to end foreign interference

IN SINGAPORE THEY WANT INDEPENDENCE FROM ENGLAND
Peoples Action Party supporters demonstrate outside the city hall

IN ALGERIA THE PEOPLE HAVE TAKEN UP ARMS AGAINST THE FRENCH
A unit of the independence army trains in a wood



THE BRITISH WANT TO MAKE MALTA THEIR MAIN MEDITERRANEAN BASE
Police ride herd on anti-British demonstrators in Valetta

MOROCCAN AND SPANISH TROOPS EXCHANGE FIRE IN A BORDER SKIRMISH
Most of Morocco is free but Spain still controls a portion

By Cedric Belfrage

CAIRO

IN A "Message to the People of the World," the recent Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference here reaffirmed the ten "Bandung principles" of human rights and justice, sovereign equality of all nations, mutual cooperation, non-interference and peaceful settlement of disputes.

To follow up on this and the long, detailed resolutions calling for action—all adopted unanimously after days of eloquence and compromise in the commissions—an Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council was created in Cairo, with a permanent secretariat of ten (Cameroons, China, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Sudan, Egypt, Syria, U.S.S.R.) under an Egyptian secretary-general. Egypt tossed an annual pledge of 10,000 Egyptian pounds into the AAPSC hat, with other participants asked to contribute according to capacity.

At its first meeting the AAPSC permanent council set March 2 as "Ban Nuclear Weapons Day," taking off from a Conference resolution against the U. S. H-test scheduled for Eniwetok, Resolutions appealed to world scientists, as "shapers of the future," to "prevent calamity by every possible means." The Conference, "believing in the Atlantic Charter," demanded reduction of all the great powers' armed forces and immediate banning of H-tests as a first step toward abolition of A- and H-weapons.—(The H-test appeal, directed to the U.S., Britain and U.S.SR., noted that the latter had "already declared its readiness" to stop tests by agreement). The Conference opposed all rocket and other bases on foreign soil.

AID FOR ALGERIA: Also set for March by the AAPSC was an "Algeria Day" for bi-continental demonstrations supporting that country's struggle. A Conference resolution on Algeria described France's war as one of attempted genocide; called for cash, clothing, medicine and food collections throughout Afro-Asia; and urged Africans and whites in the French army "to refuse to fight their brothers."

A massive cultural resolution included these proposals:

- Lower barriers to travel and to exchange of films, broadcasts, exhibitions, etc., throughout the area;
- Revise textbooks to remove imperialist influences;
- Ask help from more advanced Afro-Asian countries for students of the less advanced ones to take higher studies;
- A committee of Afro-Asian savants to plan a historical and geographical encyclopedia of the region;
- Annual prizes for cultural efforts advancing liberty, independence, friendship, peace;
- A planning body to stimulate and co-ordinate translations among Afro-Asian languages·
- An international university for Afro-Asian studies and "at least" the creation of chairs in such studies at existing universities.

TOTAL WELFARE: A "social developments" resolution urged swift, radical changes in the status of women and children, youth welfare, social security and old-age assistance wherever "imperialism has hampered and continues to hamper" advance in these fields. The resotion covered marriage, divorce, polygamy, women's political and economic rights, prostitution, the right to education; and the "inalienable right of the individual" to "social, educational and housing services," and to medical care which could be provided "through a health insurance scheme or nationalization of medicine."

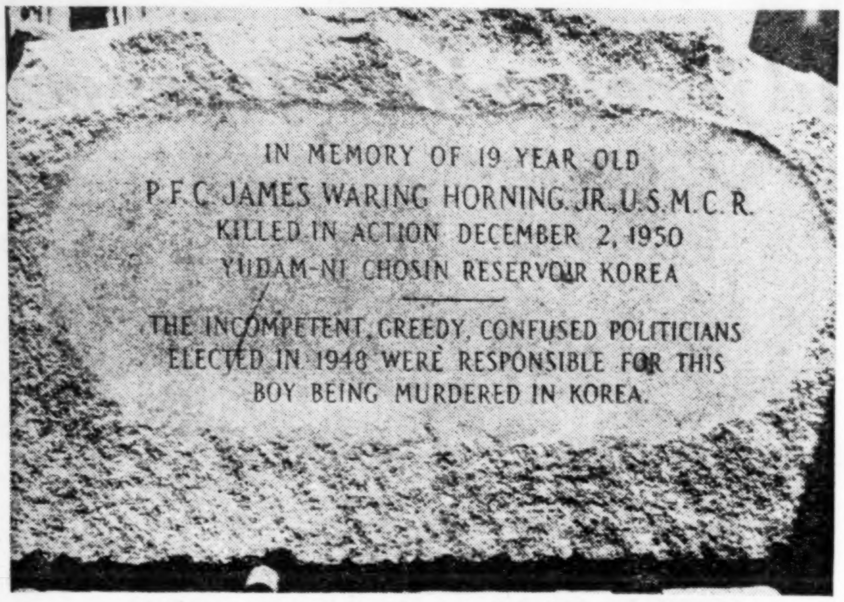
The resolution on imperialism stressed factors inherent in imperialism as most likely to trigger "a shooting war that will be disastrous to mankind." The general curse put on imperialism in any form was potent and unqualified. Spelled out and supported in the resolution were all the struggles against foreign intruders about which delegates had grimly reported to the Conference: in six countries of British and French colonial Africa, W. Irian, Okinawa, Cyprus, Goa, Korea, Vietnam and Morocco. In the Middle East, the struggles of "the Arab peoples for unity, independence and freedom from foreign influence" and their sole right to the Aqaba Gulf were endorsed, and "any foreign interference which endangers peace" condemned.

Named as examples of such interference were the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower Doctrine. At the final plenary session, Tunisia's delegation suggested deletion of the latter. The sentiment for keeping it in, expressed by Iraqi, Jordanian, Lebanese, Syrian, Somali and other delegates, was so strong that Tunisia withdrew its amendment and accepted the resolution as drafted.

FOR NATIONALIZATION: The economic resolution, estimating Afro-Asian populations as 70% of the world's, said 150,000,000 of these people were "still suffering from imperialism." For total liberation all these states must work together in the economic as well as the political sphere. They should trade more among themselves "irrespective of their social-economic systems," and seek agreements on raw-material prices, currency exchange, reduced-rate transport, etc., which would give developed and underdeveloped countries an equal break. The resolution described nationalization as "a lawful means and right" of any sovereign nation. Specific proposals included:

- A permanent committee to collect and distribute economic data;
- Afro-Asian conferences between trade union, chamber of commerce, agricultural and co-operative organizations;
- "Give due importance to industrialization" as a booster of production and living standards, and see the "urgent necessity" of agrarian reform where it has not been undertaken;
- Influence governments for minimum-wage and other labor-protecting legislation.

The resolution denounced the European Common Market, but a proposal for an Afro-Asian Common Market was withdrawn. It saw "no objection" to foreign investments of a non-exploitative and politically unconditional character.


IN MEMORY OF 19 YEAR OLD
P.F.C. JAMES WARING HORNING JR. U.S.M.C.R.
KILLED IN ACTION DECEMBER 2, 1950
YUDAM-NI CHOSIN RESERVOIR KOREA
THE INCOMPETENT, GREEDY, CONFUSED POLITICIANS
ELECTED IN 1948 WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS
BOY BEING MURDERED IN KOREA.

A MEMORIAL TO A SON—AND TO CONFUSED POLITICIANS
A Southern father plans to erect this stone beside a Georgia highway

Peace ship

(Continued from Page 1)

a down-to-earth creed. It is made up of the "ethics of the Judeo-Christian tradition" and "the Gandhian spirit." In a statement announcing the projected voyage, they said:

"We act in the belief that each individual, regardless of color, race, creed, nationality or moral condition, is sacred. Any hurt to him, no matter how slight, is, ultimately, injury to the whole human race; as individuals, as groups, as nations, our action is destructive if it violates the ancient concept of the oneness of man . . ."

A FIRST STEP: On politics they said they share "in large part" the common "perception of the evil of Soviet totalitarianism and the need to restrict its growth." But they deny the equally common assumption that military power is a "realistic" way to handle the problem. They said: "We believe that war strengthens totalitarianism everywhere" and that "a constructive program for peace cannot be carried on simultaneously with a program for military preparedness."

Stopping the nuclear tests is held to be a first step to disarmament and one on which many Americans can agree. They argue: "No vital risk is involved. No inspection is necessary. The Soviet Union has said it is willing to stop tests." They found Americans as a whole ready to agree with pacifists on the tests but still "benumbed, morally desensitized by ten years of propaganda and fear," guided by "men in our national leadership who seem to understand no other language but violence."

"SPEAK NOW": The pacifists asked the fateful question which has tormented humanists for decades: "How do you reach men when all the horror is in the fact that they feel no horror?"

For the men of the "Golden Rule" there was one answer: "The kind of effort and sacrifice we now undertake . . . We hope our act will say to others: Speak Now."

Though only four can sail on the "Golden Rule" thousands can decide the fate of the voyage. The expedition has a $20,000 budget. The ketch was bought on borrowed money. Last week the project"s sponsors said they had $4,000 on hand. The rest must be raised. Headquarters of Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons is 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa. Other offices have been set up to issue publicity and receive contributions in New York (119 Nassau St., Room 825); Chicago (4522 Greenwood); and Pasadena, Calif. (1678 Casitas Av.).

A MATTER OF LOVE: In announcing the project, chairman George Willoughby, coordinator Lawrence Scott and the two crewmen of the "Golden Rule," Bigelow and Huntington, also released a letter they had sent to President Eisenhower. Copies went to Vice President Nixon, Secy. Dulles and high UN officials. After outlining the voyage the letter concluded:

"For years we have spoken and written of the suicidal military preparations of the Great Powers, but our voices have been lost in the massive effort of those responsible for preparing this country for war. We mean to speak now with the weight of our whole lives . . . We hope our presence in the test area will speak to that which is deepest in you and in all men: that all men are capable of love."

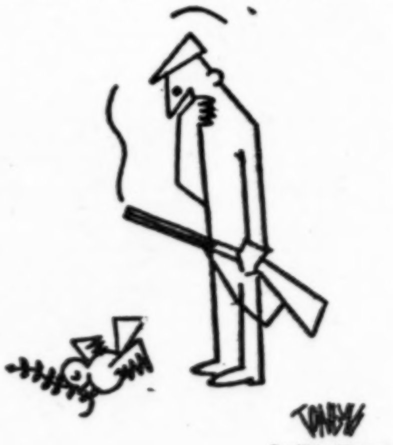
* * *

. . . and didn't do

Calvin Coolidge died 25 years ago last Sunday, leaving a legacy of silence which grows in value with the years. He is the President best remembered for what he didn't say.

Chicago **Tribune** editorial, Jan. 13

* * *



Szpilki, Warsaw

HAWAII AND SEATTLE

11 more Smith Act convictions upset

THE CONVICTIONS of 11 more persons under the Smith Act were reversed last week—seven from Hawaii and four from Seattle. All had been convicted in 1953 and sentenced to from one to five years, with fines up to $5,000. In reversing the convictions Judge Richard M. Chambers in the San Francisco Ninth Federal Court of Appeals said the Supreme Court had left further Smith Act prosecutions "a virtual shambles."

Judges Frederick G. Hanley and William H. Hastie concurred, said the remark concerning the Supreme Court's action was "unnecessary."

The only defendant in the Northwest Smith Act trials to go to prison was Mrs. Barbara Hartle. She served more than 20 months after she pleaded guilty and testified against the others.

36 NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS SIGN

Dr. Pauling files world-wide petition to halt bomb tests

A PLEA TO HALT all testing of nuclear bombs, signed by 9,235 of the world's foremost scientists, was presented on Jan. 13 to UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold by Dr. Linus Pauling, winner of the 1954 Nobel Prize for Chemistry.

The signers, constituting a roster of respected scientists from 43 nations, warned of the deadly peril of continued tests, refuting the assurances of U.S. officials on the safety of testing and the possibilities of a "clean" bomb.

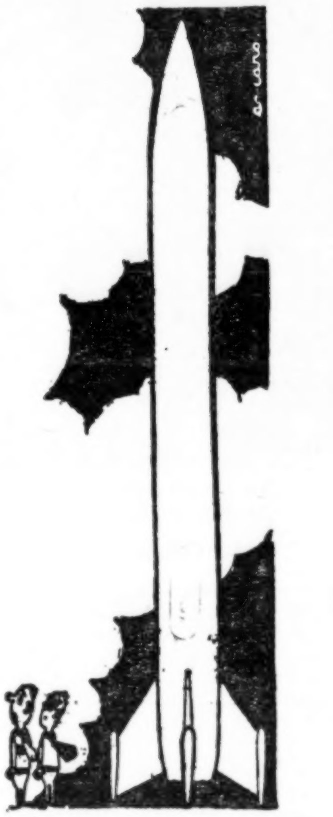
The U.S. topped the list with 2,705 signers. Dr. Pauling said that some U.S. scientists, and a smaller number of British, had told him that though they agreed completely with the petition they would not sign because of government connections.

The list included 36 Nobel Laureates, among them Harold Urey and Herman Mueller of the U.S.; Max Born and Otto Hahn of Germany; Nikolai N. Semenov of the Soviet Union; Frederic Joliot and Albert Schweitzer of France; Bertrand Russell and Lord Boyd-Orr of Britain.

THE WARNING: The petition said: "Each nuclear bomb test spreads an added burden of radioactive elements over every part of the world. Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasm such as to lead to an increase in the number of seriously defective children that will be born in future generations."

Control was still possible, the scientists said, so long as nuclear weapons are confined to three powers, but they warned of "the danger of outbreak of a cataclysmic nuclear war." triggered by an "irresponsible" national leader, should nuclear weapons become generally available. They also saw in an international ban on testing "a first step toward a more general disarmament." The petition closed on an urgent note: "As scientists we have knowledge of the dangers involved and therefore a special responsibility to make those dangers known. We deem it imperative that immediate action be taken to effect an international agreement to stop the testing of all nuclear weapons."

In a press conference Dr. Pauling said that the idea for the petition grew out of the favorable response he had to an address delivered last May to students of Washington U. in St. Louis, Mo., on the effects of radiation from nuclear tests. He emphasized to reporters his conviction that negotiations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. could lead to a "safe" agreement to ban the tests.



Liberation, Paris

"Nike, Ajax, Thor, Titan, Jupiter . . . and still the gods are not on our side!"

NEW YORK PROGRAM ADDS 2 TEACHERS

Socialist Studies new term is opening

DR. OTTO NATHAN, distinguished economist and writer, will again head the Program of Socialist Studies when it opens its 1958 term in the week of Feb. 9 at New York's Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av. Newcomers to the winter term include Dr. Corliss Lamont and Dr. Annette Rubinstein.

The current recession will make particularly timely Dr. Nathan's course, "A Socialist Looks At The American Economy," which will examine more extensively the problems discussed in his first and briefer class last term. Dr. Lamont will share a course with Barrows Dunham on "A Philosophy for Socialists." Prof. Dunham will deal with ethics and Dr. Lamont with humanism. Dr. Rubinstein, educator and author of **From Shakespeare To Shaw**, will discuss "The Contemporary Novel—English and American," reviewing the works of Joyce, Faulkner, Hemingway, Carson McCullers, James Jones and others.

Irving Adler, for many years a teacher and author of popular works on science and education, will lecture on the impact of science on modern society. "The State and Society" will be the theme of a course given by Stanley Moore, former professor of philosophy and the humanities at Reed College and author of **The Critique of Capitalist Democracy**. The GUARDIAN's foreign affairs editor, Kumar Goshal, will give a course on China and India.

NO DEFICIT: The Socialist Unity Forum, which sponsors the program, announced that it closed its first term last fall with no deficit, "something of an achievement for socialist educational enterprises." Some 200 students regularly attended class.

The Forum, an independent group, operates its program with objectives: "... to promote the acceptance of socialist ideas and to help clarify socialists in their own thinking . . . by a scientific, not a dogmatic approach to social problems . . . requiring only a willingness to examine the facts, to evaluate differing interpretations . . . not to indoctrinate but to convince."

Classes are scheduled for Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings. Further details concerning registration are to be announced shortly.

* * *

I firmly believe that before many centuries more, science will be the master of man. The engine he will have invented will be beyond his strength to control. Some day science may even have the existence of mankind in its power, and the human race commit suicide by blowing up the world.

—HENRY ADAMS, 1862.

* * *

BOOKS

S. Africa: Meaning of treason

IN DECEMBER, 1956, the Strydom **apartheid** regime in S. Africa launched a trial of "Communist traitors" even more monumentally tragi-comic than anything we have seen in the U.S.A. Lately suspended, it is being resumed this month and may drag through most of 1958. Two authors now collaborate across the Equator to tell us what it's about and how crazy you can get in Johannesburg.*

Lionel Forman, a progressive lawyer and journalist, is "accused no. 83" among the 156 pictured in the frontispiece: a racial, economic and social cross-section of S. African men and women from Zulus and Hindus to Afrikaners and English, from illiterate laborers to a university principal, two clergymen and an MP. E.S. (Solly) Sachs is the former gen. secy. of the militant Garment Workers Union in S. Africa, now an exile in Britain. He was expelled from the CP in 1931 for "right opportunism." A veteran of these racist burlesque shows, he was once confronted in a S. African court by a Strydom stooge in his union. The stooge, when asked to specify "communist methods" as allegedly displayed in the union magazine, pointed to a picture of Abe Lincoln as "one of the great living Communists."

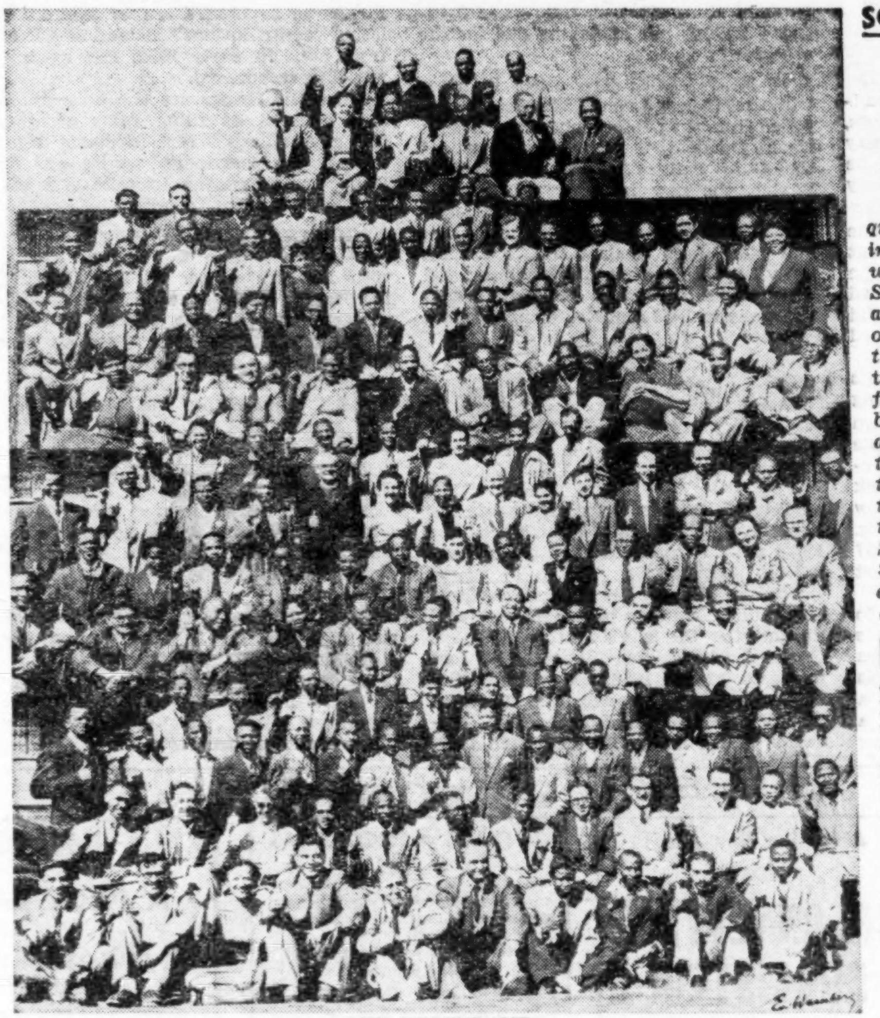
They are now 95

THE SOUTH AFRICAN government last month dropped all charges against 61 of the 156 defendants in the Treason Trial. Among the 61 were 45 Africans, six whites, four Indians and six Colored. They included Chief A. J. Luthuli, President of the African National Congress. The London **New Statesman** (12/28/57) said: "These 61 persons have been taken away from their homes and jobs and have lost a year of their normal lives simply at the arbitrary whim of the Nationalist government . . . The government has not even suggested that compensation might be paid." Preliminary examination of the remaining 95 resumed Jan. 13 under additional police guard. The trial is yet to come.

"TREASONABLE" CHARTER: Forman tells the trial story to date with rich humor and humanity which testify to the magnificent morale of the 156. Of the charge of treason against them, even **Time** concluded that "the one 'crime' they had in common was bitter opposition to the **apartheid** racist policies of the Strydom regime." Thousands of "treasonable" documents were put into the record including a copy of the UN Charter and two buffet signs seized at the Johannesburg Congress of the People in 1955, "Soup With Meat" and "Soup Without Meat."

A typical government witness, asked by the defense when he "last did an honest day's work," said "I can't remember" and admitted four jail terms for fraud. Most of the evidence by detectives was gibberish, but three of them admitted the constant repudiation of violence by speakers at meetings of the African Natl. Congress and other people's organizations. One detective, who testified that an ANC speaker told a meeting, "It is time to shoot [former Prime Minister] Malan," was asked: "How do you spell 'shoot'?" Witness: "S-H-O-O-T." Defense counsel: "Now read the letters you have written in your notes. Is it not C-H-E-C-K?" "Yes," "Does that spell 'shoot'?" "No."

A BITTER LEGACY: Analyzing the politico-economic background, Sachs is above all concerned to put in focus the Afrikaner people (Dutch descendants) who provide most of the Nationalist government's support. He recalls their Boer ancestors' century-long struggle against British imperialism, the bitter legacy of their defeat in 1902, and how—after the discovery of gold and diamonds—industrialization was imposed on S. Africa from the outside. Watered by vicious exploitation of one white group by another, the seeds of racist hooliganism thrived on the bitterness and disillusionment of the masses.



THE DEFENDANTS

Sachs sees the flame of humanity and love of freedom still glowing beneath the deliberately cultivated poison in the Afrikaner people: especially in the "rebels' daughters" of his union whose epic struggle he related in his last book of that name. "New forces and new ideas" may still avert the total disaster of fascism and racism, Sachs believes; but only when the Afrikaners realize that white populations do not benefit but suffer from "master race" theories. Africans today average $80 annual earnings in agriculture and $131 in the mines, working in both as virtual slaves. The union struggle has greatly improved the Afrikaner workers' condition in the past 25 years, but tens of thousands of white families still live under the shadow of palaces and skyscrapers in Johannesburg's "largest and worst slums in the world." Sachs sees new privations ahead for the Afrikaners compared with which past misery will look like paradise, unless progressive policies are adopted.

WIDE SUPPORT: In S. Africa the trial released encouraging signs of democratic militancy on many levels, although race prejudice continued to spread its poison throughout the white population. Defense-fund appeals for the 156 were sponsored by bishops, judges, MP's, a university chancellor and "even a general." Poor African, European and Indian women laundered the prisoners' clothes and cooked food, supplied free by small merchants, to send in to them. A multitude of supporters gathered—and were charged by police with batons and blazing guns—outside the court where the 156, placed in a huge cage, adorned it with a sign: "Dangerous, Do Not Feed."

During the trial's first months the trade unions launched a new minimum wage campaign. Leaders of all except the pro-Nationalist Dutch Reformed churches proclaimed resistance to church **apartheid.** Staffs and students of Johannesburg and Cape Town universities demonstrated in the streets against the attempt to force segregation on these last two S. African universities worthy of the name. And 150,000 pairs of African feet walked to the first great people's victory against the Strydom government in the Johannesburg bus boycott.

CONTEMPT FOR WORLD: But with the Western powers openly or tacitly supporting this Hitlerian regime in the UN, world public opinion must be roused far more than it has been; hence the importance of this book. The regime has signified its contempt for world opinion by appointing former Minister of Justice Oswald Pirow as chief prosecutor in the full-dress trial of the 156. This anti-Semite "white supremacist" set up a "New Order" organization during the war in anticipation of a Nazi victory, and in 1946 called Hitler "perhaps the greatest man of the last 1,000 years."

If the 156 "communist traitors" are found guilty of "advocating violence," they may go to the gallows under S. African law. For Pirow it would be a consolation for the hanging of his beloved Nazi war criminals—the "martyrs of Nuremberg" to whose immortal memory he devoted the front page of his **Die Nuwe Orde.**

—Cedric Belfrage

**THE S. AFRICAN TREASON TRIAL, by Lionel Forman and E. S. Sachs. Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., N.Y. 14. 216 pp. Illustrated. $5.*

THEATER BENEFIT

Guardian night Feb. 9 at new Williams hit

THE GUARDIAN's first off-Broadway theater party of the season is Tennessee Williams' new smash hit, **Garden District,** Sunday night, Feb. 9, at the intimate York Playhouse, First Av. at 64th St.

The York was sold out the first week after rave notices in just about every paper in town except the **Daily News.** To avoid waiting weeks for your tickets, plan to make the GUARDIAN benefit. Good seats are still available. See advertisement and fill out the coupon on p. 11.

SOUND OF TRUMPETS

Sobell Case inquiry urged

The following call for a public inquiry into the Sobell Case appears in a four-page newspaper issued this week by the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. The author, Dr. Francis D. Wormuth, is an outstanding political scientist and author of Origins of Modern Constitutionalism *and other basic works in the field. His review of the John Wexley book caused wide comment when it appeared in 1955. Additional copies of the paper containing the following article and much other new material on the Sobell Case, including a new petition form seeking executive action for Sobell, may be obtained at 10c each, $3 a hundred and $20 a thousand from any of the Committee addresses listed elsewhere on this page*

IN THE DECEMBER, 1955, issue of the **Western Political Quarterly,** I reviewed John Wexley's **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,** which argues that the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell were convicted by perjured testimony. I was greatly disturbed by the gravity and the plausibility of Wexley's accusations, and my review concluded:

"Obviously the Department of Justice cannot answer all criticisms. But unless it answers Mr. Wexley's, we must conclude that the Rosenberg case is our Dreyfus case, outdoing the first in sordidness, cruelty and terror." So many others have arrived at the same opinion that the Department has finally made a statement.

A Mr. Pollack of the Department was instructed to prepare a report on the case,. and this was "leaked" to **Look** magazine which published a summary on October 29.

Judging from the **Look** article, Mr. Pollack's study is a superficial, even frivolous, rehearsal of the government's case, which fails to meet the very serious questions raised. It is a whitewash of the prosecution; against the critics it employs what the Milwaukee **Journal** on November 9 characterized as "the old smear technique." Critics are Communists or simple-minded dupes of Communists—this of Albert Einstein, Harold C. Urey, Bertrand Russell, and Jean-Paul Sartre!

The Department of Justice has recognized the widespread demand for a review of the case, and has demonstrated its own unfitness to make such a review. There should be an impartial inquiry by private citizens whose ability and integrity are beyond question—perhaps even something as formal as John Dewey's audit of the Moscow trials.

I believe this because Wexley's book led me on to a thorough study of the case. I am convinced that the Rosenbergs were wrongly convicted and that Sobell, sealed away for 30 years in Alcatraz, is the Man in the Iron Mask of American Jurisprudence.

As the legal philosopher Arnold Brecht has said: **"To correct a falsification of facts, to get the facts stated and acknowledged as they really are, may appear to us as the most important aspect of justice, even more important than the redress of grievances and the punishment of the evil-doer. In the last judgment, as it is envisaged with deepest awe by religious feeling, a last trumpet will sound . . ."**

But must Morton Sobell wait for the last trumpet?

Sobell Committee addresses:

940 Broadway
New York, N. Y.
Phone: AL 4-9983

345 Franklin
San Francisco, Calif.
Phone: UN 1-1334

1009 Cumberland Av.
Syracuse, N.Y.
Phone: 722406

715 So. Lexington Pkwy
St. Paul, Minnesota
Phone: MIdway 8-3340

462 North Western Av.
Los Angeles, Calif.
Phone: HOllyw'd 4-4725

20 West Jackson
Chicago, Ill.
Phone: WEbster 9-5992

3715 LaSalle St.
St. Louis, Mo.
Phone: PRospect 1-8540

914 Plankinton Av.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Phone: BR 2-1130

Taft-Hartley

(Continued from Page 1)

imprisoning or re-imprisoning CP leaders as well as any trade union militants, past or present, who at any time may have signed T-H affidavits and can be linked to the CP by informer testimony or otherwise.

THE TESTIMONY: At the start of the Cleveland proceedings the government withdrew its charges against one of the alleged Communist defendants, Edward Chaka. The government conceded it did not have sufficient evidence to proceed against him.

On Jan. 17 the government rested its case against the rest after presenting seven informer witnesses, three of them FBI plants in the CP and all but one of the seven previously employed as government informers. One FBI plant, Frank Peoples, testified he had received "a few hundred dollars" payment for informing, but FBI records forced out under the 1957 Jencks decision of the Supreme Court showed that he had received $6,000.

Peoples said he was introduced to Mrs. Haug as Marie Rice and Marie Prince at CP meetings nearly 20 years ago. Under cross-examination it was brought out that there had then been a Marie Prince in the Cleveland CIO, a woman about five feet tall. Mrs. Haug is more than six feet tall. Peoples insisted he was not mistaking one for the other.

ONE NEW FACE: The other informer witnesses included John Nello Amedei, expelled from the CP for embezzling money; David Garfield, used previously against the Ohio Smith Act victims; Halbert Baxter, the new informer whose testimony related principally to the defendant James West; John E. Janowitz, an FBI plant used against the New York Foley Square Smith Act defendants; and Arthur Paul Strunk, an FBI plant whose testimony in 1953 sent E. Melvin Hupman of Dayton to prison for five years for allegedly falsifying a T-H affidavit (see letter p. 2). Strunk has admitted informing on his own wife.

The seventh and key witness was Fred L. Gardner, a union organizer who said he quit the CP in 1955 after 22 years. Gardner, who started informing on former associates in 1956, was the only witness who sought to place the Haugs in the CP after they had signed T-H affidavits, Mrs. Haug in 1950 through 1953, Mr. Haug in 1952. Gardner said he collected "contributions" instead of CP dues from both in early 1952. His testimony was uncorroborated.

Since the Haugs are the only defendants accused of filing false affidavits, the government's case depends almost entirely on Gardner's testimony. Mrs. Haug was preparing to take the stand as this issue went to press.

A CONTRADICTION: Former Congressman Stephen S. Young, attorney with David Scribner of New York for the Haugs, declared at the start of the proceedings that his clients "had not been Communist Party members for a substantial period before they filed non-communist union affidavits with the NLRB." Counsel for the other defendants stated that all were or had been CP members.

Writing on the trials for **Labor's Daily**, Sam Pollock, president of the Cleveland local of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, noted that on Dec. 5 Secy. of Labor Mitchell had proposed repeal of the T-H affidavit requirement. He commented:

"Thus the Attorney General is prosecuting people on the basis of a legal provision which the Administration now holds should be scrapped."

Pollock pointed out that the Federal conspiracy laws, first used to outlaw labor organizations 150 years ago, are not subject to any statute of limitations. He concluded:

"If the Justice Dept. can get convictions out of this Taft-Hartley indictment, and these are upheld by the higher courts, any number of union leaders who have participated, knowingly or unknowingly, with left-wingers in union caucuses, election slates or union administrations may be open to similar conspiracy charges."

HELP NEEDED: Funds for the Cleveland defendants may be sent to the R-H Defense Fund, Local Lodge 2155, IAM-AFL-CIO, 1205 Superior Av., Cleveland 14; or to the Haugs at 14720 Milverton Road, Cleveland 20. The defendants other than the Haugs and Reinthaler, who is defended by former U.S. Atty. Fred Mandel, have court-appointed counsel. They may be helped through the Committee for Taft-Hartley Defendants, 2014 E. 105th St., Room 202, Cleveland 6. A special committee for James West and Sam Reed, both now of Chicago, may be addressed at Room 402, 189 W. Madison St., Chicago 2.

Free World pawns

For Sale: Smoked and white nine-inch Chinese ivory chess set. Carved concentric balls at base of each piece. Non-communist certificate of origin.

—Ad in **Chess Review**, Jan., 1958

(A special message to readers of the Guardian)

PREFERRED STOCKS *of Ideas*

It was no surprise to learn from our first survey of *Monthly Review* readers that many of them also take The *Guardian*. If you read both publications, you know how they complement each other in factual reports and in appraisals of domestic and international affairs.

Monthly Review, edited by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, is now in its ninth year of steady growth. Few magazines have such warmly devoted readers. A New Mexico businessman writes us: "The best, most objective and constructive thinking I've seen in years." A labor unionist in Ireland comments: "Anything written by the editors can stand stern examination after a lapse of time."

Monthly Review also publishes books. A year ago Monthly Review Press issued *The Great Road: The Life and Times of Chu Teh* by Agnes Smedley, a long book selling at $6.75. The *Guardian* review by William H. Hinton said the book "appears at precisely the right moment to illuminate for us not only one man, Chu Teh, but the whole vast, complex Chinese revolution which shaped him and which he in turn did so much to shape."

Because we want to add to our subscription list those *Guardian* readers who do not yet subscribe, we make this offer:

Send us $4 for a regular one-year sub to MONTHLY REVIEW and we will give you FREE a copy of THE GREAT ROAD.

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PROF. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, author of "Russia Since 1917," speaks on "USSR Since 1917." Hall B-2, 32 W. Randolph. Tues., March 25, 8 p.m. Adm. 90c. Ausp: Chi. Coun. of Amer.-Sov. Friendship.

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TWIN CITIES LABOR FORUM
"Meaning of the Recent Supreme Court Decisions on Civil Liberties". Speakers: Art Sternberg, Art Hopkins, George Hedlund.
Fri., Jan. 31—8 p.m.
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New York

PARTY AND DANCE
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Sat., Jan. 25, 9 p.m., at 77 5th Av.
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REVIEW OF THE WEEK
A Marxist Analysis of Current Events
Fri., Jan. 24, 8:15 p.m.
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Fri., Jan. 31, 8:15 p.m.
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SUNDAY EVENING FORUMS
Sun., Jan. 26, 8:15 p.m.
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- New York Isn't All
- People In Our Jails

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Sun., Feb. 2, 8:15 p.m.
"Limited Nuclear Warfare—Path to Peace or Destruction?"
HAROLD COLLINS
- The Rockefeller Report
- The Kissinger Idea

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8:30—The Philosophy of History —Aptheker
The New World of Socialism —DuBois, Allen and others

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Tuesdays
(Jan. 21 thru Feb. 25)
6:30—Struggle for Negro Freedom —Aptheker
8:30—New Problems in Marxism —Aptheker

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Wednesdays
(Jan. 22 thru Feb. 26)
6:30—Economics of Capitalism—Weise
8:30—Boom and Bust in U.S.—Weise

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Thursdays
(Jan. 23 thru Feb. 27)
6:30—Dialectical Materialism —Wells
8:30—Pavlow and Freud —Wells

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Fridays
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8:15—Review of the Week —Collins and others

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THE GALLERY

A LISTENER TO RADIO PROGRAM **Answer, Please** wanted to know who was likely to be the first rocket passenger. The answer was that the best passenger would be a female psychotic Russian midget with a Ph. D. from M.I.T. The reasoning was thus: it would be a female because women are more temperamentally suited to long plane rides than men; psychotic, because she would have to talk to herself; Russian, because it seems likely they will launch the first rocket; a midget, because rockets are small; and a Ph. D. from M.I.T. because she would have to understand all the gadgets and controls in the rocket. . . . The hit of the Indian People's Theater Assn. festival held early this month in New Delhi was a new ballet called **Sputnik.** It featured two figures dressed as Dulles and Macmillan dancing "in a frightened and hysterical manner."

PAUL ROBESON HAS ACCEPTED a bid to sing on a British TV show in April. A concert tour is to follow the broadcast. The project is contingent on the State Dept.'s granting him a passport previously denied because he refused to answer questions on political beliefs and associations. On Feb. 3 Othello Associates in New York will publish a new book by Robeson, entitled **Here I Stand,** presenting his views on the controversies that have surrounded him in recent years. The book will be distributed by New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3 (cloth, $2.50, paper, $1.50). . . . Hearst's N.Y. **Mirror** reasons: "As long as Europeans and Russians keep up the barrage of hate against John Foster Dulles, the confidence of the American people in him will continue to grow." . . . Dr. Francis E. Townsend celebrated his 91st birthday on Jan. 13.

THE AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS ASSN. reports that Americans drove their cars 650,000,000,000 miles in 1957. This is equivalent to 1,250,000 round trips to the moon. Other statistics: 75% of American families own cars and 12.3% own more than one car. . . . The British law society **Gazette** opines that a Briton who finds a Soviet space satellite on his property is within his legal rights in keeping it. . . . In the U.S. a Massachusetts man took out the first satellite insurance policy for $30,000 to protect his property from damage. The problem is, how do you find the insurance office to collect? . . . In the **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists** retired Air Force Col. Richard S. Leghorn offers this timely comment: "To be able to kill deader than dead is a meaningless asset."

DEPT. OF BRUTAL FRANKNESS (Typographical Error Division): From a N.Y. **Times** story, Jan. 3, reporting the naming of Lieut. Gen. Thanom Kitkhachon as premier of Thailand: "General Thanom says he favors a 'mild Socialist' policy. . . . The term 'Socialist' is regarded as a stop to what is still considered a growing leftist tendency among the people." . . . At the ground-breaking ceremony for a new headquarters for District 1, United Packinghouse Workers, in Chicago, secy.-treas. Jack Souther reminisced about the old building. He recalled that "a young fighter named Joe Louis had his first professional fight here." Needless to say, he won by a knockout. . . . In the wake of the hysteria about our educational system, it is rumored widely that several universities are adding a chair in their psychology departments for psycho-ceramics. That would be the scientific study of crackpots.

A NEW PUBLICITY technique of White Citizens Council members is to affix a stamp to their letters bearing the inscription "Remember Little Rock" and showing soldiers with bayonets pointed at children's backs. The practice is under investigation by the Post Office since Federal law forbids putting anything on an envelope "intended to reflect injuriously on the character or reputation of anyone."

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the SPECTATOR

Freedom from fear

Puerto Rico's most distinguished literary award for 1957 went to a writer while he was under a Smit Act indictment. The Institute of Puerto Rican Literature last December gave top honors to Cesar Andreu Iglesias for his first novel, Los Derrotados *(The Destroyed), a novel of present-day life and politics in Puerto Rico. Andrew Iglesias, former general secretary of the Puerto Rican Communist Party, but not now a member of it, was one of 11 men and women awaiting trial under the Smith Act when the Institute made its awards. Since then the U.S. Dept. of Justice, declaring that it could not prosecute under the rules laid down by the Supreme Court, has dropped the case.*

When the prizes are awarded each year in ceremonies at the University of Puerto Rico it is customary for the winners to read excerpts of their work. Andreu Iglesias broke precedent by delivering this statement instead:

I BELIEVE THAT THIS CEREMONY has a certain significance. Let me interpret it as I understand it.

The author being honored at this time has been for the last three years . . . under indictment by the Federal Court of the United States in Puerto Rico. He is accused of trying to overthrow, without using any weapons other than the written word, the government, not of Puerto Rico, but of the United States in Puerto Rico.

The fact that my work has been honored, regardless of its debatable literary merits, does even more honor to the Institute of Puerto Rican Literature than to **Los Derrotados.** This climate, conducive to the strict observance of democracy, must be preserved and extended.

As I see it, the liberties of a society are not so much the accomplishment of a government as they are the product of a tradition. It is the responsibility of the state to watch over the good traditions lest they be shattered. And in this particular, the great danger lies in the upper echelons of our system as it does in the same echelons in lands under the socialist system.

MAN MUST BE THE guardian of man's liberty. Not the state; not the police, not the party. In the final analysis there is no institution to defend man's liberty, but only man, himself. The highest of all freedoms is that proclaimed by Roosevelt: the freedom from fear.

One must grow used to freedom even when one does not have it. And the way to train for it is to show one's self ready to risk whatever liberty one enjoys. One is all the freer when he is prepared to sacrifice the liberties he has on the altar of liberties he hopes to win.

There has been an attempt to idealize the liberal, defining him as a rounded individual who examines with equal objectivity all angles of a problem. This mythical circular brain does no more than go in circles like a dog trying to chew his tail. He scorns men who take a side and proclaims to the four winds his readiness to examine the other side . . . but, of course, only when his interests are not affected.

This kind of liberalism is thinly disguised cowardice. And such cowards are the worst viruses in a democratic society.

THE FREE CLASH of ideas is the greatest sign of health in a society. Not the mere playing with ideas, but the serious battle of ideas.

Someone has said that in order to create, one must believe. I think that is so. I am a man of conviction, and I cannot conceive of men without convictions. I am partial. I am openly in favor of what at a given moment I believe to be the truth. And I believe in supporting something even at the risk of life and liberty.

I believe in socialism. If the police, customarily narrow, conclude that this is proof that I am a "foreign agent," I am not going to stop thinking as I think. All the more because I think this is a small risk that it is necessary to run in defense of one's beliefs and the fullest right to believe. And since I have an opinion that is above the society in which I live, worth far more than a police mentality, I do not hesitate to proclaim my socialist ideals, which are the property of no one nation but the inheritance of humanity.

THERE IS AN ABSTRACT ART, so diluted and diffuse that it offends nobody except those at the very beginnings of art. This kind of creation does not attract me because I consider it a futile effort to escape from one's self. I hold that the standard of art lies in its human quality. I cannot, therefore, believe that to create art one must leave man. On the contrary I think that the most refined literary material is to be found by delving into the hidden places of mankind. That nothing human is alien must be the major key of any writer. This old aphorism embodies for me the highest ideal of artistic creation.

It is pleasant to live at this moment, so forward looking for our literature . . . In the current literature, born in the heat of our present conflicts, lives the Puerto Rican of today. To understand this moment and delineate it with permanent brush strokes is a worthy dedication. To it I devote the same passion which has guided all the acts of my life.